

Udmurt subordination

Non-finite clauses

I. Infinitives:

no overt subject, no PX

(136) *mon lidž'iški-ni jarati-š'ko*

I read-INF like-1SG

Expected constructions:

Subject control: modals?

I to visit Ivan want, would like, hope, promise

Subject control: aspectuals?

I to learn English start, stop, continue

Object control?:

I him to paint the fence ask, force, send

Raising?:

Ivan Masha to love seems/appears/is believed/is likely

Accusative with infinitive?

I him us to visit expect.

II. Participles:

MAIN QUESTION: WHEN DOES A PX APPEAR?

IF NO CONTROLLED PRO SUBJECT?

i. Present participle: -š'

(i) used as an attribute:

(241) *restoran-in puki-š' eš-jos-me adž'-i*
restaurant-in sit-PART friend-PL-1SG-ACC see-PRET.1SG
'I saw my friends sitting in the restaurant'

WHY NO PX? Because the PRO subject is always controlled by the DP heading the relative?

(ii) as a predicate with a nominative subject (agreeing with it in number),

Can be combined with *luini* 'lenni/to be':

liktiš' luoz = *jövó lesz 'jönni fog/he will come'*

lidž'iš'tem 'not reading' - IS THIS A MAIN PREDICATE?

IS THERE A PX? IS IT OPTIONAL?

(iii) as a nominalizer:

uža-š' 'worker'

ii. Perfect participle: -em

Active:

liktem 'arrived'

Negated form: -mte

- (245) *soos intijaš'k-i-zi tel jetili-mte intije*
they settled down-3PL wind hit-PART place-ILL
'They settled down at a place not hit by the wind.' 'szél nem fúttá'

Passive – with a GEN/ABL subject:

lidž'em 'read'

- (141) *so-len/so-leš lidž'-em kn'iga*
he-GEN/he-ABL read book

NO PX? WHY NOT? What about:

tölem/tőlünk olvasott könyv

Predicative use with a nominative subject:

- (142) *so likt-em*

he come-PART

'He is come.'

NO PX? WHY NOT?

- (143) *so ber kil'-em-ed kad'*

he late stay-PART-2SG as if

'He is probably come late.'

WHAT IS THIS 2SG DOING HERE?

Also adverbial use (with PX)

- (159) *viš'e-m-en-im ta už-ez e-j leš'ti*

be.ill-PART-INST-1SG DEM work-ACC not-PRET.1SG do

'Megbetegedtemmel ezt a munkát nem csináltam.'

'Because of my illness I didn't do this work.'

IS PX ALSO OBLIGATORY IF THE SUBJECT OF PARTICIPLE IS SPELLED OUT?

WOULD IT BE GENITIVE?

- (244) *mon soj-e gurt-e Pedor-len bertem-ez bere leš't-i*

I it-ACC home-ILL Fedor-GEN come-PART-3SG after do-PRET.1SG

'I did it after Fjodor coming home.' 'Fjodor hazajötte után'

- (160) *tin-ad pira-m-ed bere, kuno vu-i-z na*

you-GEN go in-PART-2SG after guest came-3SG yet

'Bemented után még vendég jött.'

'After your going in, there arrived still guests.' 'bemented után'

SUBJECT IN GENITIVE BECAUSE THIS IS A NOMINALIZED STRUCTURE, A COMPLEMENT OF P?

iii. Present passive participle: *-ono*

(146) *so-len lidž'-ono kn'iga*
he-GEN read book
'tóle olvasandó könyv' 'the book he must read'

(242) *mon so-leš' lidž'-ono kn'iga-z-e adž'-i*
I he-ABL read-PART book-3SG-ACC see-PRET.1SG
'I saw the book to be read by him.'

Predicative use WITH A DATIVE SUBJECT?:

(147) *minim gurt-e min-ono*
I-DAT house-ILL go-PART
'I must go home.' 'Nekem haza menendő.'

DOES PX APPEAR ON PRT IF NO LEXICAL SUBJECT?

gurte min-ono-e

iv. *-mon* 'able/ható'

Predicative use with nominative subject:

(148) *turin turna-mon*
grass cut-PART
'The grass is cuttable.'

(149) *Kn'iga-os lidž'i-mon-eš'*
'The books are readable. A könyvek olvashatók.'

WHAT IS *eš'*? A PLURAL MARKER?

Also adverbial use :

(158) *vala-mon vera-š'ki-z*
understandably spoke-he

III. Adverbial participle (Winkler: Gerund; Nikolaeva: Converb)

1. *-sa* (neg. *-tek*) – nominative subject, no PX?

(150) *so vuž kirž'an-jos-ti kirž'a-sa porja-z*
he old song-s-ACC singing walked

(151) *dirti-tek lidž'-e*
without hurrying reads

It can have a separate lexical subject:

(153) *Ondi gurte berti-sa, mon soli ukš'o š'otiz*
Ondi home coming I him money(-ACC) gave

2. *-ku* temporal adverbial (+ optional PX? or obligatory if subject of participle is not controlled by the matrix subject?)

(154) *mon so-je [bakča-je mini-ku(-m)] adž'-i*

I he-ACC garden-ILL come-PRT(-1SG) saw-1SG
'I saw him going into the garden. Én őt kertbe menvék láttam'

3. *-tož'*(+ PX) temporal limit:

(156) *n'ulesk-i vui-tož' kir ž'a-mi*
forest-to arriving sang-we

'Until we arrived at the forest we were singing. Erdőbe érkezünkig énekeltünk.'

Verbal noun assigning ACC:

(237) *kil-jos-ti dišet-on*
language-PL-ACC teach-NOMIN 'nyelveket tanítás'

Nominal clause with wh?

(240) *malpaš'ki soos-ti kiž'i vošt-on š'ariš'*
think-IMP-2SG they-ACC how change-NOMIN about
'Think about how to change them!'

IN WHAT SENSE IS *vošt-on*, *dišet-on* a noun?

Winkler: Overt subject in non-finite clauses:

1. PX (+ optional lexical subject in the genitive)

2. Nominative subject

Both possibilities:

jegit-jos pumi š'k-on dir-ja
jegit-jos-len pumi š'k-on-zi(3PL) dir-ja
youth-PL(GEN) meet-NOMIN during

CAN PX BE SPELLED OUT IF THE EMBEDDED SUBJECT IS COREFERENT WITH THE MATRIX SUBJECT (MATRIX OBJECT)?

Could all these participial clauses be replaced by a finite clause?

Gerund: when gerund, when *that*-clause?

(246) *Dangir-len š'urlo-ze š'oti-mte-jez so-li jara-z*
Dangir-len sickle-ACC give-PART-NEG-3SG she-DAT like-PRET.3SG
'She liked Dangir not giving his sickle.' 'Ő szerette Dangir sarlót nem odaadtát.'

Factive:

(247) *mon so-len dano učonoj lu-em-ez-li u-g pajmiš'ki*
I he-GEN well-known scientist become-PART-3SG-DAT NEG-1SG be-surprised
'I am not surprised at his becoming a wellknown scientist.' 'Híres tudós lettén nem csodálkozom.'

Subordinate clauses:

interrogative:

(181) *vetlid-a ton bakč'a-je?*

went-Q you garden-into
'Did you go into the garden?'
Any difference?
ton bakč'a-je vetlid-a?

(186) *anaj-ataj mar šuož?*
mother-father what say-FUT-3SG
What is the word order if subject wh:
Who said that?

Relative clauses:

Participial:

(205) *so-len lidž'ono kn'iga-yez*
he-GEN read-PART book-DEF

ARE THERE FINITE RELATIVE CLAUSES, WITH A PREPOSED RELATIVE WH?
PREPOSED TO CLAUSE-INITIAL POSITION?

Embedded *that*-clause: why OSV? *Snake* focus, or incorporated?

(215) *odig murt [so-je kij leka-z šui-sa] malpa-z*
one man [him snake bit that] believed

Why ACC subject?

(227) *ti [mon-e c'urit murt šuisa] en lampa-le*
you [me stingy man that] don't think-2PL

Free extraposition of *that* clauses?

(224) *kil'em gožtet-am mon gožt-i val, pi-jeni-m sanatori-je vetl-i šuisa*
last letter-in I wrote son-with-my sanatorium-ILL go-PRET-1SG that

čto in Spec,CP?

(229) *mon todi-š'ko [čto so likt-o-z šuisa]*
I know that he come-FUT-3SG that

Initial Spec,CP, final C:

(230) *soku tod-em in'i [kin-e š'ot-ono šuisa]*
then know-3SG already who-ACC give-PART that
'Then he already knows who would be given (as wife).'